

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

RECOGNITION OF HARRY CLEMMONS

• Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, today I recognize Harry Clemmons, Kennewick School District's middle school director, for his leadership in fighting school violence.

Last January, I organized a meeting of over 200 parents, teachers, administrators, and students. At this conference I listened carefully to the concerns and ideas of those in attendance. While I heard many varied and different suggestions, one theme was constant. Innovative and resourceful programs which educators work hard to plan and execute deserve more recognition. I therefore promised to recognize, on a monthly basis, a school or school program that is outstanding and innovative. The school violence prevention programs that Harry Clemmons has successfully implemented are worthy of such recognition.

It is time we took the steps necessary to regain control of our Nation's schools. In Washington State, for example, violent crimes by youths have doubled in number in the past decade, despite a 3-percent reduction in the youth population. Our superintendent of public instruction recently released her annual report of weapons in Washington State schools for the 1992-93 school year. A total of 2,237 incidents of possession of firearms or dangerous weapons on school premises were reported by school districts and approved private schools.

The prevalence of such incidents is constantly increasing, as is the variation and types of weapons. We must address this problem now. We must ensure the safety of our children in school and provide a learning environment free of violence and disruption.

Mr. Harry Clemmons and his innovative prevention programs should continue to be promoted throughout Washington State, as well as the entire United States. Recognizing that a problem exists and taking the initiative to develop successful programs is the key to improving our education system.●

REGARDING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN MEXICO

• Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, while American diplomats and foreign policy pundits hand-wring over various crises in Eurasia and the American military is hand-holding the doomed in a number of Third World quagmires, an economic crisis of alarming proportions is threatening to engulf our nearest neighbor to the south. Could there be a better example of the failure of our foreign policy than the potential collapse of Mexico?

I believe that charity begins at home. Mexico and Canada are part of the American family. Yes, weicker. We

snipe. We engage in the kind of heated battles only family members could get away with, but, in the end, it is the family ties that bind.

We can no longer take our good neighbors for granted. Our national security and our economic well-being are inextricably linked to the health and stability of Mexican society and the Mexican economy. We face a far greater threat from instability in Mexico than we will ever face from open conflict or economic chaos in most of the places American diplomatic attention and foreign aid are currently focused.

We must help the Mexicans stabilize the peso, to renegotiate their debt, and to develop an economic strategy of long-term investment and growth that will improve the quality of life of all Mexicans, and, by extension, the quality of life of all Americans.

To do as we have been doing, to focus on the problems of other continents while ignoring our own, is asking to worrying over a distant storm as wolves gather in our backyard.●

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY,
JANUARY 12, 1995

Mr. LOTT. Now, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until the hour of 9 a.m. on Thursday, January 12, 1995; that following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be deemed approved to date and the time for the two leaders be reserved.

I further ask unanimous consent that there then be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 10 a.m., with the following Senators to be recognized under the following limitations: Senator GRASSLEY for 10 minutes, Senator THOMAS for 10 minutes, Senator SIMPSON for 10 minutes, and Senator CONRAD for 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSIDERATION OF S. 1

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, under a previous unanimous-consent agreement, at 10 a.m. Thursday, the Senate will begin consideration of S. 1, the unfunded mandates bill for debate only prior to 2 p.m. Therefore, there will be no rollcall votes prior to 2 p.m. on Thursday.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, as I understood the unanimous-consent agreement last night, there would be no amendments laid down prior to 2 o'clock, and I would just want to confirm that with the distinguished majority whip.

Mr. LOTT. I believe that was the understanding, that there would be debate only until 2 and no amendments offered until after 2 p.m.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

1994 MEN OF THE YEAR

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, recently I received a newspaper insert from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch concerning the selection of 2 of our former colleagues as the 1994 St. Louis Men of the Year.

Former Senators Tom Eagleton and John Danforth were selected to receive this prestigious designation by 19 of their fellow citizens, each of whom had been chosen in the past for this same award. They are the 41st and 42d individuals to be so honored by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch since the award was first established in 1955.

I congratulate the Post-Dispatch on its excellent selections of this dynamic duo. Both of these men were shining lights when they served here among us in the Senate, and they have both obviously continued to shine and inspire in private life.

Jack Danforth was a voice of reason and moderation in the Senate. He was a credit to his party precisely because he was never a slave to the party line. Senator Danforth's calm reasoned approach to the issues of the day, no matter how politically charged gave him enormous credibility of the type that is so needed in the Senate today. His presence is sorely missed in the Chamber.

Senator Tom Eagleton is a personal friend, and has been for many years, in addition to being an individual for whom I have tremendous respect and admiration. Over the years, Tom Eagleton has stayed in touch with my office, and he is never too busy to weigh in when the battle needs his energy and his force of character. Senator Eagleton brought to this chamber an irrepressible personal and intellectual honesty which was apparent in his floor statements and in the positions that he took on the issues of the day. If one wanted to hear the unvarnished truth, no matter how unpopular it might be to utter, one could always look to Tom Eagleton to come to the point, and to state with eloquence and with logic the bottom line. Common sense has been called genius dressed in its working clothes. Tom Eagleton has an abundance of that often too-scarce commodity.

I congratulate both Senator Eagleton and Senator Danforth. They have brought great credit to the Senate by their service in the body and now as private citizens. St. Louis is much the richer for the Senate's loss in the case of these two fine former Members.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an insert from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch]

THE 1994 ST. LOUIS MEN OF THE YEAR:

THOMAS F. EAGLETON AND JOHN C. DANFORTH
(By Mary Kimbrough)

For the second time in its history, the St. Louis Man of the Year Award is given to two men, Thomas Francis Eagleton and John Claggett Danforth, who have represented Missouri in the United States Senate, one who left the Senate in 1988; and one who will officially retire on January 3.

The footsteps of the two honorees, one a Democrat, one a Republican, have trod parallel paths. Both are graduates of Country Day School. Both are graduates of eastern universities, Eagleton of Amherst, Danforth of Princeton, and of Ivy League law schools, Eagleton of Harvard University, Danforth of Yale University.

Both became practicing attorneys. Both served as attorney general of Missouri.

Both carry distinguished St. Louis family names, were intrigued in boyhood by politics and joined lively discussions of national and world issues around the dinner table.

Although they did not know one another well in St. Louis—Eagleton was ahead of Danforth's class at Country Day—they became good friends in Washington. Both of them would cross party lines in their voting records.

"We decided that working together for Missouri was the right thing to do," said Eagleton. That was their common concern.

When Eagleton retired, Danforth paid tribute. "When most candidates are going negative," he said in his remarks from the Senate floor, "when many candidates are taking cheap shots, Tom Eagleton is and will remain the standard for what politics should be—for decency and fairness and principle."

They will be honored at ceremonies at 10:30 a.m., Friday, Jan. 6, in the John M. Olin School of Business at Washington University. A reception will follow.

Eagleton and Danforth were selected by former recipients of the award, established 40 years ago by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat to recognize outstanding civic contributions, leadership and service to the community. When that newspaper ceased publication, previous honorees joined to maintain the annual award and carry on the tradition. For the past eight years, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has served as sponsor of the annual award.

THOMAS F. EAGLETON

Tom Eagleton bounces through life like a sacked Joe Montana jumping off the turf and brushing off the bruises. A devout Cardinal fan—the baseball variety—he charges through his day like Pepper Martin barreling into a hapless catcher. And he's on the telephone more often than Joe Torre calling the bullpen.

At 65, Eagleton is many persons. Retired U.S. senator, political scientist, college professor, TV commentator, newspaper columnist. He is the sandlot kid grown to senior status, the urbane civic statesman in shirt sleeves, sometimes disheveled, his gray hair a bit mussed, turning up the volume of his voice as he leads the charge.

For the born-and-bred sports buff with a lifelong love affair with politics, a perfect world is an exuberant, scrappy, warm-hearted world of good talk and good friends, of family and a St. Louis Rams-Kansas City Chiefs Super Bowl in the new stadium, of rousing arguments and politics and the law and the Democratic party.

But he also knows the imperfect world that can be down and dirty, a world of war

and want, of crime and poverty and people killing each other on the streets and on the battlefield. From the windows of his law office on the top floor of a sleek downtown office building, he can look through the Arch, symbol of progress, to see poverty and pain.

Thomas Francis Eagleton deals with both worlds with humor and energy and grace. And sometimes with righteous outrage.

After his retirement from the Senate, he was invited to a partnership in the legal firm of Thompson & Mitchell, with a charge to continue to serve this community. In his eighth year off the political fast track he may have tempered a little—but just a little—the jittery lifestyle described by a Post-Dispatch reporter at the time he left Washington.

"He still bounds around corners talking 90 miles a minute, whips into a room with 40 things on his mind * * * and generally vibrates like an oversized sparkplug."

His lifestyle is much calmer now that he has returned to his legal career. He and his wife, the former Barbara Smith, parents of a grown daughter, Christy, and son, Terence, make their home in Clayton.

Barbara, whom he married in 1956, learned to share his political activism during his career. When they moved back to Missouri, she organized the Women's Democratic Forum, now with some 350 members, who meet regularly to hear distinguished speakers on current issues.

Neither Christy nor Terence has shown any inclination to enter politics. Christy is in Washington, engaged to be married and working with International Sprint. Terence is a television producer in New York.

"Politics is not for everyone," said their father. "It's a unique profession and for whatever reason, you have to immerse yourself in it. When I was in the Senate, I went back to Missouri nearly every week. That's one of the down sides. I didn't have time to take my children to baseball games or school functions. I didn't have enough leisure time with my children."

"The best politics is back home."

Now that he is relieved of that pressure, he has found the time to write, to teach, to lecture and, as an ardent sports fan, to follow his cherished Cardinals.

"I like the day games," he said, with the fervor of an unabashed fan. "That's old-fashioned baseball. I'm there nearly every Sunday afternoon. I will be thrilled when the Cardinals once again play on grass."

But this year, he has been concentrating on another sport, working with the determination of a bulldozer to bring the National Football League back to St. Louis.

At the request of Congressman Richard Gephardt, Mayor Freeman Bosley and County Executive Buzz Westfall, he has headed FANS Inc., a civic committee devoted to persuading the Los Angeles Rams to move here.

"Politics was all consuming," he said. Now football is all consuming."

But Eagleton hasn't lost his passion for politics and history, and his love for America and St. Louis. This passion and this love are his heritage. To continue this heritage, the Federal Courthouse now under construction in downtown St. Louis has been named the "Thomas F. Eagleton Federal Courthouse."

He was born into an Irish Catholic home on Tower Grove Place in South St. Louis, where politics was polished to a fine art, and named for his immigrant grandfather. He and his older brother, Mark Jr., were the sons of Mark D. Eagleton, prominent figure in city politics and one-time candidate for mayor, and Zitta Eagleton, Mark's gentle and soft-spoken wife, who was determined that one boy would be a doctor, the other a lawyer.

That's just what they would do. Mark Jr., went to medical school and became a prominent St. Louis radiologist. He died in 1985.

Tom also had a half-brother, Kevin, a St. Louis lawyer-businessman.

Tom would follow in the career footsteps of his father, a strong-willed, strong-voiced attorney, whose closing courtroom arguments are said to have been heard through open windows up and down Market Street.

A Bull Moose Republican, with the progressive stripe of Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Eagleton left his party in 1944 when his hero, Wendell Willkie, was denied re-nomination for a second run at the White House. He became a Democrat, and publicly announced his support of Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth term.

Four years earlier, the senior Eagleton had taken his son to the party convention in Philadelphia where the exuberant 11-year-old met Willkie, Robert Taft, Thomas E. Dewey and other party leaders.

"I decided I was for Dewey because he was handing out more buttons and horns and hats."

Many years later, his eyesight failing, Mark Eagleton would sit in the Senate Gallery to hear his younger son take the oath of office. He would remember and be glad that he had given this rookie senator a good start in their robust after-dinner conversations.

Sometimes Zitta finished her meal alone. Tom and Mark Jr. would eat as fast as they could to keep up with their dad who would then escort them into the living room to start the evening discussion.

"Our three favorite subjects were history, baseball and politics," Tom recalled. "Of course, politics had a lot of side issues. Frequently, we argued so much that without knowing it we switched sides to keep the argument going. That is where I first became interested in politics."

All three loved the Cardinals and each year when the boys were quite young, the whole family went to spring training.

"Mother was dragooned," said Eagleton. "She didn't abhor baseball but she sure didn't love it the way we did."

The boys were enrolled in a half-day school in a quonset hut. Zitta would pick them up at noon and take them to Al Lang Field, the ballpark.

"We would stay in the Bainbridge Hotel where all the players stayed and eat in the dining room with them. I remember especially Pepper Martin, Terry Moore and Howard Krist, a relief pitcher. Krist was very kind to us."

"Dad was a member of the St. Louis Board of Education and he used to take me with him to meetings at 911 Locust. That was between 1937 and 1943. I would sit out in the audience."

"Those were very exciting times. There were great arguments and debates and I said to myself, 'Wouldn't it be interesting doing something like that?'"

"I had begun to focus on the Senate when I was in high school at Country Day. But there, and in college, I was the tactician, the pseudo Jim Farley. I didn't run for anything. I was interested in the strategy."

After graduating from Country Day, Tom went to Amherst where he received his bachelor of arts degree before going on to Harvard University for his law degree.

Then, after graduation and a stint in the Navy at Great Lakes, he came back to St. Louis, carrying with him that dream of public office.

Over the next 12 years, he was elected, in turn, St. Louis circuit attorney, Missouri attorney general and Missouri lieutenant governor, chalking up aggressive and noteworthy records in each office.

No longer was he a young Jim Farley. Now he was learning to plan his own career strategy, sometimes a bit homespun, sometimes

more costly in shoe leather than in sophisticated political advertising. He talked to the people face to face. That was, and is, the Eagleton style. His sense of humor was his trademark.

So in 1968, at the age of 39, according to an informal biography from his office, "Tom Eagleton loaded his wife, two children and the family dog into his station wagon and headed for Washington."

He had reached his ultimate career goal. "I had achieved that. I didn't lust (to use President Carter's word) for anything higher."

Despite that, in one of the low spots of his career, he almost snagged the brass ring in 1972 when George McGovern, the Democratic nominee, chose him as his running mate. Three weeks into the campaign, he pulled out after revealing, with true Eagleton candor, that he had been undergoing medical treatment for depression.

"People thought it would get me down," he said. "It did not overwhelm me. I took it as a facet of life, a difficult facet of life, but I never viewed it as irreparably catastrophic."

"I never had any great ambition to be vice president nor did I ever have any notion I would run for the presidency."

He would be re-elected to the Senate twice, and in June 1984, he announced he would not seek a fourth term.

Now, after eight years as "Tom Citizen," he looks back on those days, surrounded in his office by shelves filled with books on history and politics. In 1974, he added his own to America's library of public servants' books, "War and Presidential Power; A Chronicle of Congressional Surrender."

On his wall are photographs, many of which picture his special presidential heroes, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

Eagleton also brought back to St. Louis many happy memories of special triumphs and bitter disappointments, but he carries no nostalgic desire to return to the thick of government and the partisan warfare in the Congress. In fact, he has seen both parties "atrophy."

"The two-party system is almost deceased. Back then you were proud to be a member of your party. You supported the platform."

"The only current need of the two-party system is to nominate someone for the presidency every four years, but the strength of the two parties has just withered away."

Was there a single moment, a single vote by his colleagues, that made him want to pull out of politics? No, he said, it was more a build up of disillusionment. The joy in the job had not dimmed, but the cost of campaigning had grown and the campaigns had grown ugly and "everlastingly long."

"As I raised funds for my last race, in 1980, by contemporary standards it was cheap. It was \$1.2 million compared to today's standards of \$5 million and up."

"I found fund raising to be increasingly distasteful. Back in those years you could raise practically all you needed in Missouri. But as politics was developing during that era, the fund raising became all the more intense. You had to go nationwide with a tin cup begging for funds."

In the early days, it was easier and a lot more fun.

As a member of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, he led in the enactment of the Clean Air and Clean Water acts. On the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, he authored the "Right to Read" program. His Older Americans Act is the basis of federal social services for the aging.

But he is especially proud of one piece of legislation, the so-called Eagleton amendment to the American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia.

"We had withdrawn from Vietnam but we were still carpet bombing in Cambodia. The

Eagleton amendment stopped that. For all practical purposes that ended American participation in that dreadful war."

As Charlotte Grimes wrote in the Post-Dispatch at the time of his retirement, "It, along with the War Powers Act that limited presidential authority to send troops into combat, was a culmination of sorts: Eagleton had campaigned for the Senate on a platform calling for an end to the war in Vietnam."

Even though he is no longer a lawmaker, Eagleton keeps a close eye on the Congress and, especially, on America's continuing involvement in foreign affairs.

An astute observer and prognosticator, he predicted before the November elections that the Democrats "would take a pretty good licking."

"We will have gridlock government for two years. It will be a war of words between the White House and the Congress."

As for engagements abroad, he continues to be, as he was in the Senate, a centrist able to cross party lines.

"I was opposed to sending military forces to Haiti but so far it has worked pretty well. But the problem is how do we get out of there. We will have to leave some troops and a lot of money. Haiti can no more be made into a democracy today than I can fly to the moon."

"Democracy is a very sophisticated form of government. The Haitians are not sophisticated people. They have an 80 percent illiteracy rate."

"I think the two philosophical extremes are both wrong. One is that we are the world's policeman, that it is our job to intervene in all sorts of places, send our army, send our air force and bring peace and justice to anyone we think ought to have it."

"Then there is the old, stale position of Robert Taft, that our only business is between the Atlantic and the Pacific, maybe Canada and Mexico, but nothing else is any of our business."

"That is equally wrong. We have some global responsibilities, for instance, the Middle East. I was never embarrassed to say that when President Bush went to Kuwait, the reason was oil because oil is indispensable to Europe and Japan, and to us, so that is an area where we were obliged to do something."

"There are finite limits to what we can do and what we can undertake. There is no magic line to be drawn. You cannot put in 50 words or less where we should go, how we should go. To define American foreign policy in 50 words cannot be done. You have to decide case by case if this is something in the direct American interest."

Then, turning the telescope around, he focused on problems closer to home.

"I think we are in a very ugly, negative time," he said. "I have never seen the public so turned off not only by politicians as such but by the political process. Federal, state, county, municipal. They want no part of it."

However, he said, "I think that 90 percent of the people in the House and Senate are there, in their own minds, to do the right thing."

"The work is stimulating, challenging, exciting. Dealing with situations where you think maybe you are doing the right thing; that outweighs the shortcomings."

"We are called a participatory democracy. That means that for its strength and vibrancy people have to participate. Write your congressman. That's a participatory democracy. But instead of that, we are sort of a complaining, griping democracy."

"In time, we will work ourselves out of this mood. I don't know when; it won't be overnight. But unless the people have some degree of confidence in the public decision-making process, there will be great agony."

There is simply not that degree of confidence today."

A man of Tom Eagleton's optimistic nature can't stay grumpy long. But he is also a realist.

"I really hate to say this, but in all candor I see things getting worse before they get better. Maybe there has to be a shared sense of sacrifice. If things are not going well, we've got to get together and turn this thing around. There was such a shared sense during the Great Depression. Everyone had a shared sense of 'We've got to get out of this.' We don't have that now."

"But the economy is pretty darned good. It ought to be good enough for someone to get re-elected president."

For St. Louis, he has the same mix of optimism and realism. "I am generally optimistic about the greater metropolitan area. I wish I could be more optimistic about the inner city. When Ray Tucker was mayor, we had 900,000 people. Now it's down to 380,000. The tax base goes down and the needs for public services continue or even increase."

"What would I do if I were selling the city of St. Louis?"

"Transportation. Railroads. Airlines. MetroLink is a real plus. Fine universities. Fortune 500 companies. Excellent and aggressive banks. A skilled workforce."

"But the St. Louis school system isn't what it should be. Housing in the city is not what it should be. Distribution of health care is uneven. Well, you say, there are Clayton and Ladue and other county communities. But if the urban center atrophies, the area as a whole atrophies."

"Simply because you live in Clayton or Ladue, you cannot be smugly complacent and say everything is fine. Everything isn't fine. We are all in this together. If the city of St. Louis goes down, it will, in time, take the rest of the area with it."

But Eagleton, the sports buff, has done more than his share to lure what he believes would be a real plus for St. Louis—NFL football.

"It is an indicia of a town's future. Right or wrong, St. Louis, to be a city of the future, has to have the identification of major sports teams."

With his undying enthusiasm and positive outlook, every time he goes to a Cardinals baseball game, he's thinking home run.

Now, he's added another word to his wish list.

Touchdown!

JOHN C. DANFORTH

It was a few days after the November elections. Voters had swept the majority party out of power like fragile leaves blown away by the autumn wind. With the Republicans' stunning victory, Missouri's senior senator, Jack Danforth, could have known even greater power and influence than he has acquired in his 18 years on Capitol Hill.

But this is not what he wanted. To serve in the Senate had been his dream since boyhood. After three terms, however, he decided against running another time and opted to leave the promised land on the Potomac to discover "life after politics."

He will find that life in St. Louis. Jack Danforth is coming home to stay.

On this autumn afternoon, relaxed and comfortable in a red plaid woodsman's shirt and rough trousers, he sat in his Clayton office and talked of his political and personal philosophy, of the career he was leaving behind, and of the new chapter of his life.

His manner was reflective and deliberate. His deep voice carried power without a hint of bluster. He often paused to consider an answer, then spoke with the decisiveness of a

man who harbors no doubt about his convictions, but his conversation was brushed with humor and a grin often lightened his face.

At 58, though his graying hair has caught up with the distinctive white forelock, he is young enough to make a major change in the focus of his life.

"I had always thought I wanted there to be an end to my political life and a beginning of something after my political life," he said. "There was just a sense that I didn't want my self-identity, the way I viewed myself, as a person who had to be in public office, who had to win the next election. I wanted there to be life after politics."

And so, the Lincolnesque figure, nurtured in childhood by a grandfather who dared him to reach for the best, and loving parents who helped spur him on his way, has traded the nation's Congressional halls for the St. Louis law firm of Bryan Cave and his Washington mailing address for one in suburban St. Louis.

Thus he is returning to his roots as St. Louis is a part of him and of his heritage. He was born and reared here, grandson of the late William H. Danforth, founder of Ralston Purina, son of the late Donald and Dorothy Claggett Danforth, brother of Dr. William H. Danforth, retiring chancellor of Washington University (1977 Man of the Year), business leader Donald Danforth Jr. and Dorothy Danforth Miller.

He graduated from Country Day School before entering Princeton University and, later, Yale Law School and Yale Divinity School. He married the former Sally Dobson, who lived across the street when they were teen-agers. Their four daughters and one son, though living their early lives in Washington, have maintained their ties to St. Louis and three of them make their home, here.

The Danforths are a close clan, bound not only by family ties but also by their obvious affection and respect for one another.

But even with this major change in his life, for John Claggett Danforth, scion of this distinguished St. Louis family, reared in comfort and affluence, one essential part of his life will not be altered or be left behind—his deep and personal religious faith.

A politician in priestly robes, with a bachelor of divinity degree and a law degree, Danforth has conscientiously carved time from his senatorial duties to give early morning communion to parishioners in St. Alban's Episcopal Church in the shadow of the Washington Cathedral. In this new chapter of his life in St. Louis, he will carve time from his legal duties to continue to serve his church.

But Danforth is no pious recluse from the world. Rather, he is a quiet-spoken, resourceful activist, a low-key missionary, translating his faith in God into work for man.

That's why he has founded InterACT, a project for St. Louis congregations of all faiths, designed to create opportunities for church members, as organized groups, to give help to boys and girls of the inner city. This will be a major emphasis of his life in St. Louis.

"I hope it all works out," he said. "There is a big leap between a concept and actually doing it. I just want to be the catalyst."

"InterACT is built around three inter-related concepts. The first is that religious people have a claim on them to live beyond themselves. It is the love commandment, 'Love your neighbor as yourself,' but the opportunities to do it aren't always apparent."

"The second premise is that religion, a word that comes from the same root as ligaments, should hold things together. Religion should be something that binds society but so often it is the opposite."

"I think there are a lot of opportunities for religious people to do things beyond them-

selves, not as individuals only but as members of congregations."

"The third is the obvious need of kids in the inner city." Danforth calls them the 20th century "widow and orphan" of Biblical days.

A staunch believer in the separation of church and state, Danforth does not base his political opinion solely on the doctrine of his Episcopal denomination. But neither can he ignore his moral and ethical convictions inculcated in childhood, honed as a divinity student and solidified as a minister of the gospel.

While he is a loyal and committed Republican, he has known the political risk every senator on both sides of the aisle must face, of voting one's conscience if it conflicts with the party's position. He also has heard the screams from the press and voters who disagree with him. But that's nothing new for an office holder and Danforth has thickened his skin.

"There is a lot of room for humility in working out your political position because as the Bible says, 'My ways are not your ways and your thoughts are not my thoughts.' You can't claim that your position on tax legislation or trade legislation or the crime bill is something that directly is a pipeline to God. It's more of a question of just trying to do your best and work things out."

Still, he has kept his finger on the pulse of his constituents, even as he views the world around him not as a narrow, militant partisan but as a moderate, and politics as the art of compromise.

"People think politicians have lost touch with the voters. Not true. They are completely in touch. They can fly back and forth to seek constituents. They can take polls. They can have focus groups, find out within a margin of error of three percentage points what people think. They're very much aware of the next election, maybe too much so."

"However, having said all that, it's also important to be something more than a weathervane or someone who has his finger out to see where the currents are blowing. Because then you stand for nothing and all you want to do is to get yourself elected."

"What it really comes down to, if there is a conflict, of course you have to vote your conscience. But you do it with a lot of agonizing and a lot of listening and a lot of recognition that on some of the things you vote for you may be wrong. Particularly, if you view politics as the business of compromise, there are really few things you view as absolutely terrific." The crime bill, he said, would be an example.

"It was a mix, with good things and bad things. You do your best and you listen to the public. But a lot of people were phoning in saying to vote against it and I voted for it. All complex legislation is like that."

He supported former President Carter and voted with many Democrats on ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty because he considered it "the only responsible vote to cast."

"Some issues are hard. That one was not. It was a very clear case as far as I was concerned. It would have been such a mess had we not ratified the treaty, I did not view this as a party line issue."

"I am very comfortable with the basic Republican concept that government should be limited and the fundamental Republican principles that government should operate with a light touch and not a heavy hand. The one thing that keeps the Republicans together is economics, trying to keep taxes low, trying to keep spending low."

Moving with steady grace, Danforth has risen through his party's hierarchy, taking on more responsibilities and gaining power

and prestige. At the time of his decision to leave the Senate, he had attained the rank of 21st in seniority among the 100 senators.

He was senior member of the Finance Committee, the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, which he chaired in 1985-86, the first Missouri senator to chair a major legislative committee since World War I.

He was a principal author of legislation to require strict on-the-job testing for drug and alcohol use by key transportation workers, to strengthen federal and state laws against drunken driving, to improve the inspection of safety equipment on commercial trucks and buses, to establish national standards for licensing professional drivers, to increase the safety of passenger vehicles, and to expand and modernize airports and the air transportation system.

In the 102nd Congress, he was the principal sponsor of the Cable Television Consumer Protection Act to stimulate competition in the cable television industry and provide local authority over rates in markets where service is a monopoly.

He has also been concerned with health care costs, with efforts to improve education, to stimulate rural economic development, to encourage soil conservation, to increase Federal support for basic scientific research and to reduce world hunger and malnutrition.

Of all his achievements as a senator, he is most proud of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, providing for fairness in hiring, promotion and other employment practices.

Recent Supreme Court decisions, "had really turned the clock back on civil rights."

"I don't think you can do that. I wanted to remedy that." Also, he wanted his party in the forefront of the fight for civil rights.

A major disappointment was the 1986 tax act. "It started out as a good concept and turned sour. The problem was that in order to come up with additional revenue to make the numbers add up in conference, the bill had to scuttle more and more from the tax code that I felt was important."

As co-chairman with Senator Bob Kerry of a commission to study entitlements—Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security and the Federal Retirement System—he has concluded that entitlement spending will consume in the next couple of decades all tax revenues "except for what we pay for interest on the debt and by about 2030 we won't even be able to pay interest on the debt."

What can be done? "There is a variety of things, all of them painful. You could means test or adjust the cost of living formula. It is like a disease. The earlier you deal with it, the less painful the cure, the longer it goes, the more painful the cure."

The commission's findings describe the economic future that will confront Americans during the first quarter of the 21st century if the Nation fails to act.

"The picture that they paint is unsettling. The findings are not, however, a prediction of the future. They are merely the product of current budget policies if our course is not changed. A better future for America can be secured if the country embarks on the course of long-term reform."

However, he said, "We have a system of government which is ingenious and brilliantly devised more than 200 years ago by people who really put it together right. We have this very diverse country with all of these people, all of these different backgrounds and beliefs, and they come here from all over the world and bring so much."

The complex issues with which he has dealt in the Senate could not have occurred to the boy Jack Danforth nearly a half-century ago as he sat in the Senate gallery to listen and watch. Certainly, he could not

have envisioned himself among those men. But that trip to Washington changed his life.

"My parents had taken Don and me East partly to attend Bill's graduation from Princeton. I remember going to the Senate chamber, sitting in the balcony and thinking, 'Gee, I would like to do that sometime.'"

And so in that hour was born a dream that would not be denied. Neither of his parents was interested in politics as a career but it was typical of them, Jack said, that they supported and encouraged whatever their children chose.

"It was a wonderful childhood. They were both very loving and supportive of us. They thought of us as different individuals. They were non-directive. They didn't tell us what to do. Rather, they encouraged our strengths.

"Donald Danforth was really a wonderful father, a very kind man and very loving. Every memory I have of my father is of a loving father, of a man who liked to hug us a lot.

"With my brothers and sister and me, it was never fear that motivated us. It was a desire to make our parents proud. That, to me, is the great motivator. Even now that they are gone, I want to make them proud and make my wife proud, and our kids proud.

"For our children, it is the same. We are very proud of them. They are also very different. And they are really good kids. They have good values and are nice people."

None has chosen to follow him into politics although two have followed him into the law. The eldest, Eleanor (Mrs. Allan IV) Ivie, lives here and keeps busy rearing her three sons. Mary (Mrs. Thomas) Stillman has her law degree and is assistant dean at Washington University. She is the mother of a boy and girl. Dorothy (Mrs. Johannes) Burlin, known to the family as D.D., also is a lawyer, practicing under the name of Danforth. Johanna (Mrs. Timothy) Root, known as Jody, is a hospice nurse in Connecticut. Thomas is a senior at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minn.

"In our family, the dinner table was and is important. That was the time you knew the family would be together. We weren't going to watch television. We would sit there and talk.

"At the Senate I frequently got home late but it was still important for us to be together. I would always ask the children, 'Tell me about your day.' Sally is the same way. It's important just to find the chance to show interest in kids and to take pride in them, to find something they can do well and appreciate that, to let them know you feel they are terrific. Everyone has something that you can appreciate and praise."

Although Jack's desire to go into the ministry did not blossom until his college days at Princeton when he happened to have a free hour in his class schedule and a faculty advisor suggested a religion course in ethics. "I liked that course and took another and ended up majoring in religion. I was really interested and decided between my junior and senior years that I wanted to go into the seminary so I entered Yale Divinity School.

"It was soon apparent that this was not for me as a full-time career. The parish ministry was something I was not equipped for so I reverted to my original idea to go to law school and by the time I started unwinding my career path I was two years into Divinity School." So in 1963, he received both degrees.

But Jack Danforth had a third string to his bow—politics. In 1968, in his first race for public office, Missouri attorney general, he achieved the first Republican victory in a statewide race in more than 20 years and began a period of reform and two-party politics in Missouri.

He was re-elected in 1972, went to the Senate four years later and was re-elected in 1982 and 1988.

In this public life, he has received numerous honors. The most recent—as co-recipient with Chancellor Danforth—is the Regional Commerce and Growth Association's Right Arm of St. Louis award.

In 1988, one of the greatest honors in America—the vice presidency—might have been his, rather than Dan Quayle's.

James Baker, who was handling George Bush's 1988 campaign, asked him to submit material as a potential choice for the office, and although he was far from enthusiastic, he sent it.

"I was at the convention just one day. I had just returned home when I got a call from Bush saying he had selected Quayle as his running mate. 'I said, 'I'm happy to hear that.' Bush said in disbelief, 'You are?'"

Even the top office has never tempted him. "It would be too pre-emptive of my life. The only reason to run for president is to win and if you win, that's all you are for the rest of your life.

"No, once I am out of the Senate, I am not a senator. You are not a senator for the rest of your life. You close the book on that even though it was a wonderful chapter."

Now that John Claggett Danforth has come home again, the book is opened again for the next chapter.

SELECTION COMMITTEE

Thomas F. Eagleton and John C. Danforth were selected as the 1994 St. Louis Men of the Year by 19 citizens, each of whom had been chosen in the past for the award. They are the 41st and 42nd to be so honored since the award was first established in 1955.

Listed on the selection committee, and in order of their receiving the honor, are the Rev. Paul C. Reinert, S.J., chancellor emeritus of Saint Louis University; Howard F. Baer, former president of the A.S. Aloe Co. and retired chairman, Bank of Ladue; Harold E. Thayer, retired chairman, Mallinckrodt Inc.; W.L. Hadley Griffin, chairman of the executive committee, Brown Group Inc.; Lawrence K. Roos, retired president of the Federal Reserve Board of St. Louis; Edwin S. Jones, retired chairman and chief executive officer of First Union Bancorporation and The First National Bank; Dr. William H. Danforth, chancellor of Washington University; William H. Webster, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Zane E. Barnes, retired chairman and chief executive officer of Southwestern Bell Corp.; Clarence C. Barksdale, vice chairman of the board of trustees, Washington University; G. Duncan Bauman, retired publisher of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat; Sanford N. McDonnell, chairman emeritus, McDonnell Douglas Corp.; Charles F. Knight, chairman and chief executive officer, Emerson Electric Co.; Lee M. Liberman, chairman emeritus, Laclede Gas Co.; August A. Busch III, chairman of the board and president of Anheuser-Busch Cos. Inc.; Dr. Peter H. Raven, director of the Missouri Botanical Garden; William E. Cornelius, retired chairman, Union Electric Co.; Osborne E. "Ozzie" Smith, shortstop for the St. Louis Cardinals; and H. Edwin Trusheim, chairman, General American Life Insurance Co.

Twenty-one recipients have died: David R. Calhoun Jr., chairman of the board of St. Louis Union Trust Co.; Major Gen. Leif J. Sverdrup, chairman of the board of Sverdrup & Parcel Associates Inc.; Ethan A.H. Shepley, chancellor of Washington University; Stuart Symington, United States senator from Missouri; Morton D. May, chairman of May Department Stores Co.; Thomas B. Curtis, United States congressman from Missouri; August A. Busch Jr., chairman of

Anheuser-Busch Cos. Inc.; Edwin M. Clark, president of Southwestern Bell Telephone Co.; H. Sam Priest, chairman of the Automobile Club of Missouri; James P. Hickok, chairman of The First National Bank in St. Louis; Dr. Charles Allen Thomas, board chairman of Monsanto Co.; James S. McDonnell, chairman of the board of McDonnell Douglas Corp.; William A. McDonnell, chairman, The First National Bank in St. Louis; C. Powell Whitehead, chairman of General Steel Industries; Frederic M. Peirce, chairman of the board of General American Life Insurance Co.; Maurice R. Chambers, chairman of the board, Interco, Inc.; George H. Capps, president of Volkswagen Mid-America Inc. and Capital Land Co.; Armand C. Stalnaker, chairman of the board, General American Life Insurance Co.; Edward J. Schnuck, chairman of the executive committee, Schnuck Markets Inc.; Robert Hyland, senior vice president of CBS and general manager of KMOX and KLOU-FM Radio; and Donald O. Schnuck, chairman of the board, Schnuck Markets Inc.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SNOWE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDERS FOR TOMORROW AMENDED

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I have a couple of unanimous consent requests which have been checked with the Democratic leader and have been cleared.

So at this time I ask unanimous consent that the orders for tomorrow be amended to reflect that the period for morning business be extended to the hour of 10:30 a.m. with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each and that at 10:30 the Senate begin consideration of the unfunded mandates bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 1

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 1, the House companion bill to the congressional coverage bill, be placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, finally, if no further business is to come before the Senate—I only see one other Senator waiting to speak. After the conclusion of the remarks by the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess as previously ordered.